~~3365~~

not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would be an insult to X. Then r round wooden dishes are distributed into which are poured the berries of Viburnum Pauciflorum. The waiters pour olachen grease over these and the mixture is eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods never vary, as the first meal at a potlatch.

If the siki of the last guests to arrive has not returned the power given him by the Bella Coola siki, he now stands up and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his dance. The Bella Coola siki also stands up, while the siki of the guests contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague. The latter feigns to catch it, cries "hoip" loudly several times, and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of their sisaok(1) songs of their own siki who dances in time to it. Then another song is beaten out and another member of the party dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so. Each wears his own head-dress and each dances in the manner already described. ~~Sometimes a man will wear the mask he has received when initiated, but this is optional~~. After the dancing ~~is done~~, the members of this party of guests give presents to X. and other Bella Coola chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than lesser men, and X. most of all. These presents are spux'djut, which may be translated as "eagle-down-ness", merely a mark of friendship and good will. They are not returnable. Goods so received are distributed by X. with his other possessions at the potlatch, care being taken

(1). xe·lla songs (see p. 246) are sometimes used.

~~3304~~

not to return them to the donors, as doing so would be ~~an~~ insulting.

After the bestowal of these presents the siki of the penultimate party of guests shakes his rattle. Exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. They, too, give presents to X. and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first arrivals have completed their dance and distribution of gifts. X. then gives another meal to all, without ~~with~~ distinction as to the food provided. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart with the exception of those who are staying in X.'s house.

~~3204A~~

The Potlatch--------First Day.

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one stirs early. The guests receive their breakfasts without ceremony in the house where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X.'s house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large amount of smoked mountain-goat meat has been placed in water to soak, and it is this which they now proceed to cook. It is placed in a number of food-boxes, ready for distribution, then water is added and hot stones lifted in for the boiling of it. When the water comes to the boil, mountain goat grease is added, and then berries of Arctostaphylos Uva-Ursi. It is usually about two o'clock in the afternoon before the meal is ready. The guests are summoned and the food given them, the chiefs, as usual, receiving more than those of lower rank. After eating they disperse to await the evening rites. ℙ It was impossible to obtain an accurate account of the ritual carried out on the evening of this, the first day of the potlatch proper. The ceremonial was of less importance than those preceding and following, and it has long fallen into disuse.

The guests take up their accustomed places, while the Bella Coola members of the sʊsaok range themselves near them and behind the fire. The corners next the door are occupied by non-members of the society. The singers beat out two of the best songs they have made for the initiates, and any of the sʊsaok members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiates dance to them, even X. himself on occasion. By "help" no material aid is indicated.

~~3205~~

Such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiates, resplendent in sɩsaok head-dresses, appear at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dance a few steps. Sometimes, at the conclusion of his song, a lad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X. to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all disperse.

The Potlatch---------Second Day.

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day.

1. Communication to the foreign guests of the new sɩsaok names of the initiates concealed within the back room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

2. Payment to X. by the members of his wife's family of the goods necessary to re-buy her from her ~~from her~~ husband.

During the Evening.

3. Repayment by X. of debts owed to members of his own village.

4. Return of a dead relative of X. to visit the living.

5. Distribution of presents to validate this appearance.

6. Sometimes, dancing by some of the sɩsaok initiates.

Early in the morning X. gives each of his guests a wash-basin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up. Towards noon all of those invited reassemble in his house.

~~3205A~~

Three river canoes have been brought in and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all ~~of them~~ far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of Red Elderberries and olachen grease have been placed in readiness. X. selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and validated among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. ~~X.~~ He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely substitutes. X. requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X. whispers the sesaok name of one of the initiates:--

"His name is now---" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with

no space

~~3565~~

the usual bedinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the s!saok name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and Red Elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into a mass of pulp, which they proceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and stals are added. Then X.'s helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X. has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other ~~ancestral crest~~ form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and are then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as xe·t!a. ~~!i t!i~~ Each of these has been handed down from ~~the~~ distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X., composed ~~it~~ had it for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about ~~his ancestral crests, or about the form~~ the form or name of his earliest ancestors and the text is often grandiloquently phrased.(1) Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words for an old tune. ~~The singers have long known the words, and~~ As they sing, they are aided by some of X.'s friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door. They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his kwatciata to add dignity to the ~~any of the audience who also know them.~~ scene.

After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is much practical joking with the heralds.

"Don't you want some food ?" X. calls to one of them. Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containig liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle the

(1) Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words describe how the dancer is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has poked his head into the sacred stone.

~~3207~~

that the mess is scattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

During the afternoon X.'s wife and the members of her family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material" as if they supplied X. with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. ~~as follows:~~ They could be used for:-

1. ~~In~~ Repayment ~~for~~ of potlatch debts, or

2. ~~In~~ Making potlatch investments, or

3. ~~In~~ Validating names, either sesook or ancestral, for the children of his relatives. It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating names for any of X.'s own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of ~~her~~ children in any case. These goods are not returnable by X. to his wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment-gifts, the presents received in return are given to X., not to his wife's relations.

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother of other member of his X.'s wife's family, also announces what names, portions of myth-prerogatives, ~~or other privileges~~ she is bestowing on her husband. After that the people dismissing are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon ~~preparations~~ are made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place

at night

~~5268~~

Towards dusk the guests reassemble, and take up the places as before. Part of the goods which X. proposes to distribute has been brought in, and aided by some members of his family, he busies himself recounting and making final plans for ~~the~~ its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, the accuracy of the division of goods at a potlatch is a matter of considerable difficulty, and worry, to the donor. Not only will a slighted guest feel ~~insulted~~ aggrieved but the sacred nature of the rite will have been subjected to insult, if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the repayment of debts by X. to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign guests as witnesses to the transaction. X. always endeavours to repay with as large interest as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage; but if he can repay only the amount borrowed, or the same with small interest, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the interest to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously loaned ~~by X.~~ and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest.

In Kimsquit it was customary to repay carpenters and others who had helped X. prepare for his potlatch, at this stage of the proceedings, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch,(1) ~~although it is one not always carried out~~. The singers strike up

(1) ~~The~~ Potlatches can be held without this feature.

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take up their places as before. Part
and with
of the goods which X. proposes to distribute has been brought in by himself

~~Sacq~~

one of the songs of a senior sɨsaok, perhaps a siki chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume with head-dress, the sound of whistling is heard without the house. A number of sɨsaok members are making the noise and they ~~regulate~~ modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or with an increase of vigor in blowing. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The sɨsaok or siki returns, while the audience, silenced by the mystery of the affair listen to his explanation:~~,~~

"It is So-and-so" he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X.'s deceased relatives. "~~He~~ The newcomer has come to pay his son (or whatever relation X. may be to him) a visit. I will bring him in."

As he has been speaking, continuous whistling has been heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of ~~conversation~~ a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the sɨsaok society. If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise the figure will appear:--an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the sɨsaok whose ~~function~~ presence is attributed to the necessity ~~of~~ for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the voice of which imitates the ~~squeal~~ cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The ~~chief~~ actor bends his head in imitation of a bird and shakes himself, ~~a~~lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

~~3210~~

means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. The he bends down and hops a few steps in imitation of the eagle's gait. Slowly, with pauses and turns around, the figure circles the fire and retires out through the front door, always attended by a number of susaok. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, and the performance is strikingly effective in the large, plank-built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which casts flickering shadows over the intently watching Indians. The curs, alone, unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion, skulk to and fro.

If a whale is represented , a large wooden frame-work is used, carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear or other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number of intermarriages to permit everyone claiming some bird or beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a forefather can also be used on these occasions.

Sometimes a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an eagle, projecting from the back a killer whale, and a raven on its chest. In such a case those three creatures had been connected with the ancestry of the deceased. Great individual choice is allowed in such matters.

If several of X.'s deceased relatives are being commemorated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a short time after the departure of the first masked figure. Again a senior susaok goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal. Three, or sometimes four, dead people are thus shown, though one alone is more cus-

customary. The ~~actual~~ management of the figures is ~~left to the~~ directed by the carvers who have made them. In many cases a foreign workman is employed, ~~as a matter~~ out of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are many delays about the final preparations, especially with regard to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clear the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from [illegible] grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In [illegible]

X takes a copper (one of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly beaten out cold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia) which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,[2] and throws it either into the fire or on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then an announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest (i.e. for the dead man, now in form of his crest). It has made bone for the dead". Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father, (or whatever relative the deceased may have been.) At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in Nusmät'a, whence he came to visit us and whither he has just come back."

The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone", which may imply stability, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made for, rather than to, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

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2 The breaking is in some cases omitted.

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~~3218~~

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents which have been placed in readiness, provided by X. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests, while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"(1) and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. Their function is to validate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above.

If there are many s!saok initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those secluded are going to dance, food is distributed and all disperse.

The Potlatch--------Third Day.

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the day:--

1. Distribution of much food and sometimes of insults to the guests by the presents given, or by valuables destroyed.

During the evening and night:--

2. Dramatic representation of some object connected with X.'s ancestral myth.

3. Distribution of presents by X. to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted him in the potlatch.

4. Repayments by X. of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(1) The Bella Coola state that the Kwakiutl term for this is Xoxa or qoxa.

~~3213~~

5. Giving of presents by X. to some of his guests.

6. Distribution of presents to strengthen X.'s seat.

7. Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, seats for a number of young men.

8. Dancing of the sɩsaok initiates.

9. Distribution of presents to recompense those who have assisted the sɩsaok dancers.

10. Distribution of presents to validate the sɩsaok dances and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

11. Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the sɩsaok initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

All day, food is being distributed in X.'s house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X., but also he takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at kusiut rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

It is comparatively common for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes

~~Sonx̱ɬ~~

valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host~~ɸ~~ seats this particular guest close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon ~~the fire,~~ it, to demonstrate "the warmth"and "fineness" of his house. The ~~host~~ guest not only experiences physical discomfort himself from the extreme heat, but also he suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance the guest will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will ~~continue to~~ counter by throw his more on ~~further~~ valuables. The contest is continued till the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left ~~for~~ to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown between chiefs of the same village.

The following is an account of a feud which took place about thirty years ago :— The people of Sonx̱ɬ were guests at a potlatch at Tĕl'ĭo. They had come with a plentiful supply of goods in ~~the~~ expectation of being insulted by their host ~~as revenge~~ for a slight cast upon him ~~at~~ a potlatch in Sonx̱ɬ. The places allotted to the Sonx̱ɬ people were close to the fire, upon which the host cast a large quantity of eulachon grease until the intense heat almost roasted his guests. Not one of them moved; to have done so would have meant an admission that they were being made uncomfortable by the power of their host in demonstrating his wealth by this waste of valuable grease. Presently, Sqxälotɬa, the leading chief of the visitors, stood up and called for "water" to douse the flames, naming goods of equal or greater value, to indicate that he was as wealthy as his host

~~2276~~

and as little afraid of destroying valuables. His ~~people~~ companions threw on the fire boxes filled with skins, brought with them in expectation of such an emergency, but Sunxälotła desired still further to demonstrate his prowess. Hastily, he asked some of the other Bella Coola present to lend him a sea canoe, of the large type called Haidäł, promising to repay the loan with two of the same kind. The Bella Coola were agreeable and the canoe was carried in, the bearers showing their disregard for the host by breaking his door as they did so. The ~~boat~~ canoe was ~~thrown~~ on the fire and the flames mounted. Sunxälotła called upon his Täł'io rival to douse that fire, but the latter was afraid to so so, being aware that he had barely enough goods to pay his debts at the coming distribution. Accordingly, he tacitly acknowledged the superiority of Sunxälotła, who thus rose in popular esteem.

It was very difficult to discover just how often such destruction of goods was a feature of potlatches. The Bella Coola realised that it was the prevalence of this practice among the Kwakiutł which led to the potlatch being forbidden by law, and therefore they ~~were~~ are reticent on the subject. Reliable informants agree that it was a fairly common custom in the early days, although where, too, was common the breaking of coppers in anger, an act unknown in Bella Coola. never went to the extremes prevailing at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay. In other respects the potlatch among the Bella Coola appears to be less important and less complicated in ritual than among the Kwakiutł, so it is highly probable that the above statement is correct.

Another method of shaming a guest is to serve him, or any member of his party so clumsily or gracelessly with food that it is spattered over him. Sometimes this happens accidentally, but the Bella Coola sentiment is that the guest has been

~~Gelb~~

"dirtied." To cleanse himself he proceeds to give presents to the heralds of his host, and perhaps to some of the latter's fellow-villagers. By so doing the guest shows that he too is in a position to demonstrate his chiefly nature by a distribution of goods. The host usually takes the hint and is more gracious in future.

One way in which a man can render himself liable to ridicule and insult is by saying he is about to give a potlatch, and then failing to do so. Influenced by his announcement, those giving potlatches have showered presents upon the ~~impending~~ prospective donor, and if he fails to carry out his plans he will undoubtedly receive insults. Such a man, if he is wise, will carry with him to potlatches large quantities of presents, so that he will be enabled to assert himself, either by throwing goods on the fire of his host, or to cleanse himself by making gifts to his host's heralds, or in both ways.

When the people, including ~~the uninitiated~~ those who are not members of the secret society, have assembled in the evening, the afternoon passes, a dramatic representation of some event connected with X.'s ancestral myth is common. A similar performance has sometimes taken place as the first event on the preceding evening. The commonest rite is connected with a whale and can be performed by those whose first ancestors came to this earth as whales, or by those whose ancestors obtained such a rite through intermarriage with people who owned it. When all are seated a number of young men rush into the house carrying with them a tree-trunk roughly hollowed out to represent a whale. The cry is raised that the animal is about to vomit, and at the same time large quantities of grease are thrown on the fire by assistants on the roof. The subterfuge is realised by all. None imagine that the whale actually throws up the grease,

~~Gift~~

but the comparison is drawn between the whale vomiting grease because it is fat, and a chief throwing away wealth which lesser men would consider of great worth. A display of this kind increases the fame of X., the concept being the usual one, that he has demonstrated his nobility of mind. Then begins the distribution of the large quantities of goods which X. has amassed. These have been collected in boxes near the fire where X. aided by members of his family, is constantly moving over the question of their proper distribution. One or two fluent chiefs have been chosen by X. to act as speakers, and, as he tells them which gift is to be given to which man, the speaker holds up the article in question and announces the name of the recipient. It is also proclaimed from whom and for what reason X. has received each assortment of goods, thereby making known the names of those who have contributed. In this way a man is glorified who has repaid with large interest a debt owing to X. In the case of skins or rolls of cloth, the goods about to be given out are held outspread by several people at their full length, prior to being torn into strips. Each beneficiary accepts what is coming to him from the hands of the young men who act as deliverers without displaying either gratitude or disgust, if the present does, or does not, come up to his expectations. The point of view is that the matter concerns X. alone; on his generosity depends his status in the community. Accordingly, it is to his advantage to give freely.

The first presents distributed are actually payments, though never referred to as such. The Bella Coola consider that X. is under obligations to those who have helped him prepare for the potlatch and that he ~~firstly frees himself of these~~ must is discharging these obligations by presents. The carpenters who have made the new house, the totem pole and other

~~5318~~

objects used in the rites, must be rewarded, likewise the singers who have composed the songs, the messengers, the women wailers, the masked dancers, the announcers who even now are distributing the goods, the boys helping with the cooking, the guests who make speeches--one and all have to be ~~remembered~~ compensated. It an anxious time for X., as he must not overlook any of these functionaries. At the present time paper and pencil are used to assist the memory, but long the only aids were bundles of sticks. No system of symbolism was evolved, a man merely chose a stick and designated it in his mind as a reminder to pay such or such an individual.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about ten years ago, and were considered reasonable. The skill of the carpenters, as w as the generosity of X. regulates the disbursements.

For painting two designs on front outside wall of the house. $40.00

When two are painted ~~on the house~~, that on the left of the central door on entering portrays X.'s father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house $30.00

For each longitudinal beam with painting $20.00

For each cross-beam, without painting $10.00

For the planking of side-walls $100.00

Four men would work together on this task.

For painting back-wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room. Two men would work at this, the choice of designs agreeing with those of the outside front. $40.00

~~Adjoin~~ ~~out~~ if the rites must be rewarded. Likewise the

~~5210~~

An average totem pole would cost perhaps $150.00, but the prices varied greatly in accordance with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X. has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to pay "investment presents" (1) then received. This is known as lisdjut, (repay), and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donord, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so. ~~A careful parent always trains his son in one of two methods employed: repayment, with interest. Contrary to custom among other coastal tribes, the~~

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful enquiries made on that point merely disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X. has received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously, he may now repay with one hundred and fifty blankets. The amount of the original present will be announced, so that the fact is made known that he is repaying with 50% interest. This completes the transaction. The man who receives the additional fifty blankets is not ~~expected~~ required to repay these, though he may endeavour to do so, should he wish to add to his own fame; the matter concerns himself alone. It is sufficient if X. pays back the principal only, though in that case he does not increase his prestige. No claim is ever made for the repayment of an investment present. The Bella Coola regard repayment as being so obviously to the advantage of the debtor that there is no necessity for dunning. A man who ~~tried that method of the collection~~ did so

(1) see page

~~of what is owing to him~~ would expose himself to the ridicule of the community, since it would demonstrate that he thought in the terms of goods, while a chief is expected to give presents as if they were a mere nothing.

On rare occasions a chief has been unable to repay his investment presents In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Bella chief, aided by his son, prepared to give a potlatch, and the news spread far and wide. But during the summer the son accidentally shot himself while deer-hunting. In reckoning his indebtedness, the old man realized that, bereft of his son's assistance, he would be unable to repay even the principal of his indebtedness. His grief was so intense that he wept. A disgrace of this kind affects not only the man himself but all who are in any way related to him. He called upon his ~~connections~~ relatives, and they gave him sufficient money to save the situation. In such a case, nobody is compelled to contribute aid, but a feeling of compassion is at work, as well as a vague sense of family pride. My informant gave this chief $20.00, although his relationship to the Bella Bella man was so distant that its exact ~~status~~ terms had been lost for generations. All that was remembered by my informant was that one of his ancestors had married a woman from the village of the Bella Bella chief. Particular enquiries were made with a view to ascertaining whether or not ~~there was a group of kindred on whom would fall~~ the disgrace of failure to repay would fall on the ancestral family and ~~or~~ whether they ~~who~~ were legally bound to contribute. ~~but~~ Such is decidedly not the Bella Coola concept. Only feelings of pride and affection govern the contributions. Assistance of that kind is given without witnesses, hence the payment, or non-payment, is a matter which does not affect the standing of the debtor in the eyes of the community. My informant expects no return, but should he come to financial straits he would have no hesitation ~~about~~ in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief He expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute ~~to the~~

may represent a Kimsuit debt; one ornamented with a tuft